

Short-distance pronominals*

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Abstract

In both Icelandic and Faroese there are instances of pronominals taking local subject antecedents, usually when the pronominal is within a PP. This paper discusses a study on pronominals' ability to take a local subject antecedent. The data for this study was collected in the Faroe Islands and Iceland in October and December 2009. The paper is intended to provide information concerning the possible factors facilitating pronominals' ability to take a local subject antecedent. The focus of this study is on the effects of transitive verbs, typology of PPs and phonological heaviness of PPs on the acceptability of locally-bound pronominals in Icelandic and Faroese.

1. Introduction

Icelandic pronominals seem for the most part to adhere to the standard binding principle B (Chomsky, 1981, 1986), that is they must be free (unbound) within their binding category.

- (1) a. *Jón_i rakaði hann_i
 Jón shaved him
 ‘Jón shaved him’
- b. Jón_i rakaði hann_k
 Jón shaved him
 ‘Jón shaved him’
- c. Jón_i hélt [að Ragnar myndi raka hann_i]
 Jón thought that Ragnar would shave him
 ‘Jón thought Ragnar would shave him’

In (1a) the subject *Jón* binds the pronominal *hann* within a simple sentence thus violating principle B and making the sentence ungrammatical. In (1b) the pronominal is not coindexed with the subject and is therefore free. In (1c) the

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pronominal, within the embedded clause, refers to the matrix subject. Since the pronominal is bound by an element from outside the embedded clause it is free within its binding category and principle B is thus not violated. There are however some exceptions.

The Anti-Subject orientation of Icelandic and Faroese pronominals has been well documented and discussed in the past (Anderson, 1986, Barnes, 1986, Maling, 1986, Sigurjónsdóttir, 1992, Þráinsson, 1991, Þráinsson et al., 2004). In both languages it is possible for a pronominal to refer to a local object, like the following examples (the sentences in (2) are taken from Maling (1986) and the examples in (3) are taken from Þráinsson et al. (2004)).

- (2) a. Ég tók kanínuna_i úr búrinu hennar_i
I took rabbit.DEF out cage.DEF her-GEN
 ‘I took the rabbit out of its cage’
- b. Ég lagði drenginn_i við hlið systur hans_i
I laid boy.DEF by side sister his
 ‘I laid the boy next to his sister’
- c. Ég sýndi litlu stúlkunni hana í speglinum
I showed little girl.DEF her.ACC in mirror.DEF
 ‘I showed the little girl her in the mirror’
- (3) a. Vit hittu Jógvan_i heima hjá honum_i
we met Jógvan home with him
 ‘We met Jógvan at his place’
- b. Eg rætti Kjartani_i klæðini hjá honum_i
I handed Kjartan-DAT clothes.DEF with him
 ‘I handed Kjartan his clothes’

In each of the sentences in (2-3) the pronominal is either within a PP, as in (2a-b) and (3a); the direct object in a double-object construction, (2c); or within a PP within a direct object within a double-object construction. The pronominals in (2a-b) are genitive possessors which, as will be discussed later, is usually the case when principle B violations in Icelandic and Faroese are concerned.

There are also published examples of pronominals referring to a local subject antecedent. These have however not been discussed as much as those in (2-3). Following are examples of such sentences ((4a) is from Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson p.c., (4b-c) were found in the Árni Magnússon Institute corpus, while (5a) is taken from Barnes (1986) and (5b) from Þráinsson (2001)):

- (4) a. Forsetahjónunum_i var vel fagnað í fyrstu opinberu
presidential.couple.DEF was well cheered in first official
 heimsókn þeirra_i til Noregs
visit their.GEN to Norway
 ‘The Presidential couple was well received on their first official visit to Norway’
- b. [Stella vinkona]_i kom ásamt foreldrum hennar_i og það var...
Stella friend came with parents her.GEN and it was
 ‘My friend Stella came with her parents and it was...’
- c. Jennifer Lopez_i giftist söngvaranum Mark Anthony í
Jennifer Lopez married singer.DEF Mark Anthony in
 látlausri athöfn á heimili hennar_i í Beverly Hills í
low-key ceremony on home her-GEN in Beverly Hills in
 fyrradag
day-before-yesterday
 ‘Jennifer Lopez married singer Mark Anthony in a low-key ceremony at her home in Beverly Hills the day before yesterday.’
- (5) a. Martin_i sá Jógvan við nýggju súkklu hansara_i
Martin saw Jógvan with new bicycle his-GEN
 ‘Martin saw Jógvan with his new bicycle’
- b. tey ... síggja á fyrsta sinni teirra kæra Glyvurnes fara framvið
they see on first time their dear Glyvurnes go by
 ‘They ... see, for the first time, their beloved Glyvurnes pass by’

As one can see, in all the examples above, the pronominal is a genitive possessor within a PP. However, locally subject-bound pronominals seem to be possible in double object constructions as well, like the following Icelandic example (Einar Freyr Sigurðsson p.c.):

- (6) [Þessi glaðningur]_i veitir eiganda hans_i gráðostaborgara,
this prize gives owner his-GEN blue-cheese-burger
 franskar, kokteilsósu og gos fyrir aðeins 900 kr.
french fries cocktail-sauce and soda for only 900 kronur
 ‘This prize entitles its receiver to a blue cheese burger, French fries, cocktail sauce and a soda for only 900 kronur.’

Based on the sentences in (4-5), surveys were prepared and conducted in the Faroe Islands and in Iceland looking into various factors possibly at work in these constructions which would facilitate these alleged principle B violations. No examples of principle B violations in double-object constructions, such as (6), had been found at the time of the surveys and therefore the double-object construction was not included in the study.

This paper is constructed as follows. In the following section the surveys will be discussed. First the motivation behind the study and the methodology will be described, as well as the structure of the survey. In the third section the results of the study will be discussed.

2. Methodology

This section will be devoted to a presentation of the motivation behind the study and the methodology. The methodology will be introduced and the structure of the questionnaires as well as some problems encountered during the process will be briefly discussed. Then the two surveys will be discussed: the first conducted in the Faroe Islands in October 2009 and the other in Iceland in December 2009.

This study came about as a follow up of a pilot study done in Iceland the year before (the results of which are included in appendix I). Their purpose was to shed light on the possible factors allowing pronominals to take a local subject antecedent.

2.1 Motivation

First, drawing on Hestvik (1991), the study was intended to show whether the typology of the PPs in question was a factor in allowing pronominals to have local subject antecedents. Hestvik proposed that certain PPs, i.e. those that assign a thematic role to their object independently of the thematic role assigned by the verb, could function as subjectless predicates, thus forming a binding domain for pronominals. Zwart (2006) suggested that PPs (and double-object constructions) were a kind of transparent small clause, allowing a certain optionality between pronominals and reflexives. Others have proposed that directional and locative PPs have a functional clause-like structure dominating the PP (e.g. Biskup, 2009, Dikken, 2006, Koopman, 2000, Tungseth, 2005). With this in mind, the surveys were intended to show whether PPs differ in their ability to form a binding domain depending on their type. Five types of PPs were tested: directional, locative, causative, instrumental and comitative.

The pilot study showed a difference in acceptability depending on whether the verb was transitive or intransitive. Sentences where the verb was transitive usually received a higher acceptance rate than those with an intransitive verb. Therefore, in this study, this factor was actively tested.

Looking at sentences such as (4a) and (4c), it can be seen that the PPs are quite ‘heavy’. Phonological weight has been shown to affect Principle B (see e.g. Hicks, 2008 and references cited there, Pesetsky, 1995:256) and therefore the study tested the effects of phonological heaviness.

2.2 Faroese

The Faroese part of this study was conducted in October 2009, during a research trip under the auspices of the research project *Variation in Faroese Syntax*, lead by Höskuldur Þráinsson. The questionnaire was administered in three places:

Klaksvík, Fuglafjørður and Tórshavn, with a total of 20 speakers interviewed. The questionnaire consisted of 45 sentences and whereof 21 concerned the subject of this study and 24 were fillers. Three sentences were meant to test the eligibility of the participants. These sentences were supposed to be considered ungrammatical for most if not all speakers. Speakers who judged two or more of these sentences grammatical were excluded from the calculations. 15 participants were deemed eligible.

The test sentences were translated into Faroese with the assistance of two Faroese helpers, Mona Breckmann and Steintóra Gleðishegg Joensen. The fillers were either contributed by Tania Strahan or taken from Þráinsson et al. (2004). The sentences were accompanied by an introductory sentence where necessary to establish context. A test sentence would then be presented in the questionnaire in the following way:

- (7) a. Maðurin toldi ikki tá ið tíkin svav uppi á borðinum.
man.DEF tolerated not then when bitch slept up on table.DEF
 ‘The man couldn’t bear it when the dog slept onto the table.’
- b. Maðurin skumpaði tíkina av borði hansara
man.DEF pushed bitch.DEF off table his
 ‘The man pushed the dog off his table.’ [hansara = maðurin]

The introductory sentence was italicized, and followed by the test sentence and, where applicable, the intended reference of the pronominal was given in square brackets beneath. The participant was then presented with three choices *yes* (‘natural sentence for me’), *?* (‘dubious sentence for me’) and *no* (‘unnatural sentence for me’). The questionnaires used in this study can be seen in appendices II and III.

To ensure participants judged the intended reading with an unmarked stress pattern, the test sentences were recorded, read by a native speaker, Steintóra Gleðishegg Joensen. The participants were presented with the written questionnaire and listened to the sentences through headphones. The participant could start, stop and skip as they pleased and thus go through the questionnaire at their own pace.

A typographical error on the questionnaire was not discovered until after it had been administered to the participants at the first location (in Klaksvík). In the results below for the sentence in question, the participants from Klaksvík have been excluded.

At the end of the fieldwork trip each of the traveling linguists presented their preliminary results, respectively, to the faculty and students at the University of the Faroe Islands. When the results of this survey were presented, the Faroese members of the audience disagreed regarding the order of the genitive possessor and the possessed DP. In the test sentences the order is consistently *bók hansara* (book his), which is consistent with the intuition of the assistants. Their intuitions, in turn, are consistent with Þráinsson et al.

(2004:118) which states that the order *bók hansara* (book his) seems to be closer to being unmarked and that the order *hansara bók* (his book) is usually contrastive, just as in Icelandic. At the presentation, Victoria Absalonsen pointed out that in some of the sentences the order *bók hansara* would be more appropriate in written language and the order *hansara bók* would be more common in spoken language, whereas in other sentences the order *bók hansara* would be more natural for spoken language. This may have reduced the acceptability of many of the sentences, and so, the acceptability of this may be higher than reported here.

2.2 Iceland

The Icelandic part of this study was conducted in Reykjavík in December 2009. The participants came from various parts of the country but all of them had been living in Reykjavík for at least a year. The questionnaire consisted of 60 sentences, whereof 28 related to the issues at hand. Five sentences were deliberately meant to be judged ungrammatical and participants were deemed ineligible if they judged less than three of them ungrammatical. 14 of 15 participants were deemed eligible.

The questionnaire was constructed in the same manner as the one used in the Faroe Islands. The test sentences were preceded by an introductory sentence and followed, when needed, by the intended interpretation in square brackets. (Note that *Gunna* is a female's name and *Tumi* is a male's name.)

- (8) a. *Gunna fékk nóg af því að Tumi var alltaf að taka stólinn hennar.*
Gunna got enough of it that Tumi was always to take chair.DEF hers
'Gunna had had enough of Tumi always taking her chair.'
- b. *Gunna hrinti Tuma úr stólnum hennar*
Gunna pushed Tumi out.of chair.DEF hers
'Gunna turfed Tuma out of her chair.' [hennar = Gunna]

The Icelandic test sentences were recorded and the participants listened to the sentences as they read the written questionnaire.

The construction of the Icelandic questionnaire was somewhat more organized than the Faroese one. In every sentence with a phonologically light PP, there were 6-9 syllables between the antecedent and the pronominal. These sentences tested the effect of PP type, were presented in groups of three and all contained a transitive verb.

The sentences that were intended to test the effect of the phonological weight of the PPs were in two groups of three. One group contained sentences with an intransitive verb and the other transitive verbs. The antecedent and the pronominal were one hand separated by 12 syllables and on the other 14. The sentences in each group differed in the number of syllables contained in the PP. The PPs in both of these groups were either directional or locative.

These sentences are presented in the next section, along with the results.

3. Results

This section will list the results of the Faroese and Icelandic studies respectively.

3.1 The Faroe Islands

As previously mentioned, sentences in the pilot study received different acceptance rates depending on whether the verb was transitive or not. Therefore this study actively tested whether transitivity was a factor. (9) has a ditransitive verb, (10) an intransitive verb with a PP adjunct. (Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number, thus the columns do not always add up to 100%.)

1. Sentences with transitive verbs				Yes	?	No
9	Kvinnan	koyrði mannin	[úr song hennara]	33%	20%	47%
[F37]	<i>woman.DEF drove man.DEF out bed her</i> ‘The woman drove the man out of her bed’					
10	Maðurin	skumpaði tíkina	[av borði hansara]	33%	27%	40%
[F42]	<i>man.DEF shoved female.dog.DEF off table his</i> ‘The man shoved the bitch off his table’					
2. Sentences with intransitive verbs				Yes	?	No
11	Fuglurinn	fleyg	[úr reyðri hansara]	29%	21%	50%
[F1]	<i>bird.DEF flew out nest his</i> ‘The bird flew out of its nest’					
12	Hundurin	rann aftan	[á eigara hansara]	27%	20%	53%
[F4]	<i>dog.DEF ran after on owner his</i> ‘The dog ran after his owner’					

The difference in acceptance rates for tables 1 and 2, as is shown above, is negligible and indicates that transitivity is not a factor in whether a pronominal can refer to a local subject antecedent, or, at least not as far as Faroese is concerned.

The sentences meant to test whether the type of PP was a factor in a pronominal's ability to take a local subject antecedent are given next. The sentences with locative PPs, shown in table 3, received the highest acceptance rate of all the types.

3. Locative PPs					Yes	?	No
13	Sjúrður	át	[á skrivstovu hansara]		53%	20%	27%
[F44]	<i>Sjúrður ate on office his</i> 'Sjúrður ate in his office'						

3. Locative PPs		Yes	?	No
14	Turið át tvíflís [í bilið hennara]	47%	20%	33%
[F23] <i>Turið ate sandwich in car.DEF her</i>				
‘Turið ate a sandwich in her car’				

Locative PPs received a substantially higher acceptance rate than other deictic PPs, i.e. temporal and directional PPs, which were rejected by most speakers, as shown in tables 4 and 5.

4. Directional PPs		Yes	?	No
15	Jógvan rópti [á kvinnu hansara]	13%	27%	60%
[F11] <i>Jógvan shouted on woman his</i>				
‘Jógvan shouted at his wife’				
16	Malan leiddi Sjúrd [til bil hennara]	50%	12%	38%
[F21] <i>Malan lead Sjúrdur to car her</i>				
‘Malan lead Sjúrdur to her car’				

5. Temporal PPs		Yes	?	No
17	Malan kom heim [aftaná maður hennara]	13%	13%	73%
[F20] <i>Malan came home behind.on man her</i>				
‘Malan came home after her husband’				
18	Eivind roykti cigar [í feriu hansara]	13%	53%	33%
[F31] <i>Eivind smoked cigar in vacation his</i>				
‘Eivind smoked a cigar on his vacation’				

As is shown in tables 4 and 5 the temporal and directional PPs received a much lower acceptance rate than the locative PPs. (16) received a higher acceptance rate than the others. However it is not clear why this is so. (18) received higher proportion of *questionable* judgements than all others. 53% of participants judged the sentence to be *questionable*, as opposed to 7-27% for the others. A possible explanation for this outcome might be that the verb in (18) is transitive. The results of the pilot study suggested that transitive verbs facilitate principle B violations. This could possibly explain the lower rejection rate of (18) as compared with (17). This could also explain the higher acceptance rate of (16) compared to (15). The question remains, however, why such a contrast does not appear in table 3. Also, as previously mentioned, the difference in acceptance rates between tables 1 and 2 is minimal, which suggests that, if transitivity is a factor in facilitating principle B violations, there may be other factors at work that can either counteract or assist in violating principle B.

Instrumental PPs received similar levels of rejection as the temporal and directional PPs above.

6. Instrumental PPs				Yes	?	No
19	Maðurin	ferðast [á hestið hansara]		13%	27%	60%
[F17]	<i>man.DEF travels on horse.DEF his</i> 'The man travels on his horse'					
20	Kvinnan	skar breyðið		7%	47%	47%
[F10]	<i>woman.DEF cut bread.DEF</i> [við knívið hennara] <i>with knife.DEF her</i> 'The woman cut the bread with her knife'					

These sentences also received a high rate of *questionable* judgements. 27% of participants judged (19) questionable and 47% judged (20) as questionable. In the pilot study the instrumental PPs were also almost unanimously rejected.

The causative PP received a somewhat different rate of acceptance to those in the pilot study¹:

7. Causative PPs				Yes	?	No
21	Gentan	vann [vegna glöggsemi hennara]		40%	20%	40%
[F25]	<i>girl.DEF won because.of cleverness her</i> 'The girl won because of her cleverness'					

In the pilot study the causative PPs received a higher rate of *questionable* judgements than the other types of PPs tested which is also the case here. The causative PP in this study received the highest rate of acceptance after locative PPs, which is in line with the results of the pilot study.

The final type of PP to be tested were comitative PPs. These sentences received a rate higher of acceptance than the comitative PPs in the pilot study.

8. Comitative PPs				Yes	?	No
22	Zakaris	kom [við abba hansara]		33%	13%	53%
[F3]	<i>Zakaris came with grandfather his</i> 'Zakaris came with his grandfather'					
23	Gentan	át fisk [við pápa hennara]		20%	20%	60%
[F15]	<i>girl.DEF ate fish with father her</i> 'The girl ate fish with her father'					

The data in table 8 indicates that comitative PPs are accepted as frequently as locative and causative PPs. In the pilot study, however, the comitative PPs were

¹ An error in the questionnaire went unnoticed and resulted in there being a third instrumental sentence instead of the second causative.

almost unanimously rejected by the participants². This might indicate that, while different types of PPs differ in their ability to facilitate principle B violations within a single language, the same types may also differ in this respect between languages.

To sum up these results, the type of PP seems to be a factor in the PP's ability to form a binding domain for pronominals. Although the numbers here point to a rather low level of acceptance of pronominals having local subject antecedents in Faroese, there may be other factors involved which led to the reduced acceptance rates seen here. There are, as previously mentioned, variations in word order that may have come into play, namely the order of the genitive possessor and the possessed NP. Therefore the acceptance rate might have been higher if said variations had been accommodated in the questionnaire. Although they are broadly inconclusive, these numbers are suggestive of the fact that different types of PPs are differently suited to form binding domains for pronominals. Locative, causative and comitative PPs seem best able to form binding domains for pronominals. Directional, temporal and instrumental PPs are less able to do so.

Finally, the effect of the phonological weight of the PP was tested. The PPs in these sentences contained different numbers of words, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8 words, where the pronominal is PP-final in (24-26) but PP-medial in (27-28).

9. Weight of PPs		Yes	?	No
24	Niklas hoppaði [á nýggju trampolin hansara] [F27] <i>Niklas jumped on new trampoline his</i> 'Niklas jumped on his new trampoline'	27%	27%	47%
25	Gentan fór [frá øllum lodnum kettum hennara] [F6] <i>girl.DEF went from all hairy cats her</i> 'The girl left all her hairy cats behind'	13%	13%	67%
26	Sjúrður fekk hol á nógvum [F13] <i>Sjúrður got hole on many</i> [av gomlu skjúrtum hansara] <i>of old shirts his</i> 'Sjúrður got a hole in many of his old shirts'	33%	7%	60%

² There was however a difference between various comitative prepositions in the Icelandic pilot study. The preposition *með* 'with' was unanimously rejected but the preposition *ásamt* 'along with' was accepted by half the participants. As of yet it is uncertain why this should be. A possible explanation pointed out by Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson (p.c.) is that *ásamt* might not necessarily have a comitative reading. If so it would not be surprising that *ásamt* receives a different level of acceptance from *með* which, when it governs dative, always has a comitative reading.

9. Weight of PPs		Yes	?	No
27	Gamla kvinnan hefur sæð mang [á øllum ferðum hennara runt um heimin] [F40] <i>old woman.DEF has seen lot on all travels her around about world.DEF</i> 'The old woman has seen a lot during her travels around the world'	67%	20%	13%
28	Maðurin keddi seg [í teimum flestu longu arbeiðsferðum hansara til keðiligu Keypmannahavnar] [F29] <i>man.DEF bored self in them most long work.trips his to boring Copenhagen</i> 'The man was bored on most of his long, boring business trips to Copenhagen'	40%	33%	27%

The phonological heaviness of a PP does seem to facilitate principle B violations, but the weight of the PPs in question is not the sole factor in the acceptability of a pronominal taking a local subject antecedent, as can be seen by the lower rate of acceptance of (28) compared to (27). The PP in (28) is the heaviest of the PPs but it does not receive as high an acceptance as (27) which has a lighter PP. It is likely that there are factors other than weight at work resulting in the lower acceptance of (28), such as the order of elements within the DP. Further work would be needed to establish the causes behind the differing levels of acceptability here.

3.2 Icelandic

As in the Faroe Islands, the Icelandic part of the study looked into the effects that transitive (29) and intransitive verbs (30) have on the ability of pronominals to take a subject antecedent. All of the PPs tested were either directional or locative.

10. Transitive verbs		Yes	?	No
29	Gunna hrinti Tuma [úr stólnum hennar] [R7] <i>Gunna pushed Tumi out chair.DEF her</i> 'Gunna pushed Tumi out of her chair'	43%	29%	29%
30	Ágúst fann blað [undir rúminu hans] [R18] <i>Ágúst found paper under bed.DEF his</i> 'Ágúst found a magazine under his bed'	7%	14%	79%

11. Intransitive verbs		Yes	?	No
31	Steina borðaði [í bílnum hennar] [R36] <i>Steina ate in car.DEF her</i> 'Steina ate in her car'	7%	0%	93%
32	Halli sofnaði [í stólnum hans] [R55] <i>Halli fell.sleep in chair.DEF his</i> 'Halli fell asleep in his chair'	14%	0%	86%

It is interesting that (29) was accepted so frequently compared to the other test sentences. One might assume that the spike in acceptance was due to the directional PP in (29). That however does not seem to be the case, as can be seen from the results reported below. It is more likely that the participants may have been more inclined to accept the sentence because they had been primed to do so from having judged the same sentence with a reflexive pronoun, which may refer to either *Gunna* or *Tumi*. (29) aside, possessive pronominals were overwhelmingly rejected with a local subject antecedent in Icelandic with intransitive verbs, while responses varied with transitive verbs.

When it came to testing different types of PPs, a pattern emerged that was very different from the one observed in the pilot study. The pilot study indicated that causative PPs were best suited to form binding domains, temporal, directional and locative PPs followed. Other PPs could not form binding domains. In this study, unlike the pilot study, directional PPs, other than (29) (repeated below as (33)), were more or less rejected:

12. Directional PPs		Yes	?	No
33	Gunna hrinti Tuma [úr stólnum hennar] [R7] <i>Gunna pushed Tumi out chair.DEF her</i> 'Gunna pushed Tumi out of her chair'	43%	29%	29%
34	Dóra henti steinum [í bílinn hennar] [R38] <i>Dóra threw rocks in car.DEF her</i> 'Dóra threw rocks at her car'	0%	0%	100%
35	Maðurinn setti veskið [í töskuna hans] [R51] <i>man.DEF put wallet.DEF in bag.DEF his</i> 'The man put the wallet into his bag'	7%	0%	93%

The judgements in the case of (34-35) were quite black and white, that is, no one judged these sentences as questionable.

The judgements of the locative sentences were more even as is shown below.

	13. Locative PPs	Yes	?	No
36	Ágúst fann blað [undir rúminu hans]	7%	14%	79%
[R18]	<i>Ágúst found paper under bed.DEF his</i> 'Ágúst found a magazine under his bed'			
37	Strákurinn fann mús [í skúffuni hans]	14%	7%	79%
[R10]	<i>boy.DEF found mouse in drawer.DEF his</i> 'The boy found a mouse in his drawer'			
38	Katrín sá ketti [í garðinum hennar]	14%	14%	71%
[R53]	<i>Katrín saw cats in garden.DEF her</i> Katrín saw cats in her garden			

The judgements were also more gradient than they were regarding the directional sentences. 14% judged (36) and (38) questionable and 7% (37).

Sentences with temporal PPs received similar judgements to the ones with locative PPs.

	14. Temporal PPs	Yes	?	No
39	Pála reykti vindla [á unglingsárum hennar]	14%	29%	57%
[R32]	<i>Pála smoked cigars on teenage.years her</i> 'Pála smoked cigars in her teens'			
40	Karl keypti sér skyrtu [í fríinu hans]	7%	0%	93%
[R16]	<i>Karl bought self shirt in vacation.DEF his</i> 'Karl bought a shirt for himself on his vacation'			
41	Stelpan slasaðist [á afmælisdaginn hennar]	21%	24%	57%
[R34]	<i>girl.DEF injured on birthday.DEF her</i> 'The girl got hurt on her birthday'			

These sentences also received a high rate of *questionable* judgements. (39) received 29% and (41) received 24%. Judging by these numbers, temporal PPs seem to be more able than other types of PP to form a binding domain for pronominals. However it is not clear why that should be so. In the pilot study there was little if any difference between directional, locative and temporal PPs.

Causative PPs, in contrast to the pilot study, received a very low acceptance rate.

	15. Causative PPs	Yes	?	No
42	Hansína vann Grím [vegna kænsku hennar]	14%	21%	64%
[R60]	<i>Hansína beat Grímur because.of cunning her</i> 'Hansína beat Grímur because of her cunning'			

	15. Causative PPs	Yes	?	No
43	Stefán missti allt [út af fíkninni hans]	0%	7%	93%
[R26]	<i>Stefán lost all out of addiction.DEF his</i>			
	‘Stefán lost everything because of his addiction’			
44	Hundurinn vann verðlaun [út af feldinum hans]	7%	7%	86%
[R22]	<i>dog.DEF won prize out of fur.DEF his</i>			
	‘The dog won a prize because of his fur’			

In this study, causative PPs were overwhelmingly rejected whereas in the pilot study the causative PPs received the highest rate of acceptance. At this point, it is not clear at this point what factors could have resulted in the difference between the studies.

As in the pilot study, the instrumental PPs were unanimously rejected³.

	16. Instrumental PPs	Yes	?	No
45	Gummi skar lærið [með vasahnífnum hans]	0%	7%	93%
[R28]	<i>Gummi cut thigh.DEF with pocket.knife.DEF his</i>			
	‘Gummi cut the leg of lamb with his pocket knife’			
46	Sigrún keyrði pakkana út [á bílnum hennar]	0%	7%	93%
[R40]	<i>Sigrún drove packages.DEF out on car.DEF her</i>			
	‘Sigrún delivered the packages on her car’			
47	Stelpan spilaði mjög vel [á sögina hennar]	0%	14%	86%
[R44]	<i>girl.DEF played very well on saw.DEF her</i>			
	‘The girl played very well on her saw’			

Instrumental PPs seem, therefore, least able to function as a binding domain for pronominals.

The final type to be tested was, just as in the Faroe Islands, comitative PPs.

	17. Comitative PPs	Yes	?	No
48	Dóri smíðaði kofa [með bróður hans]	7%	7%	86%
[R13]	<i>Dóri built hut with brother his</i>			
	‘Dóri built a hut with his brother’			

³ *Lærið* (‘thigh’) refers to a leg of lamb mentioned in the introductory sentence.

	17. Comitative PPs	Yes	?	No
49	Kári eldaði súpu [ásamt mömmu hans]	14%	0%	86%
[R49]	<i>Kári cooked soup along.with mother his</i> 'Kári made soup along with his mother'			
50	Stella þreif bílinn	7%	21%	71%
[R41]	<i>Stella washed car.DEF</i> [ásamt kærastanum hennar] <i>along.with boyfriend.DEF her</i> 'Stella washed the car along with her boyfriend'			

According to this data, comitative PPs are equally as unacceptable as a binding domain for pronominals as instrumental PP.

The results of this study indicate that differences in the suitability of different types of PPs for allowing pronominals to have local subject antecedents seems to be minimal. Some types of PPs however seem to be less suited to functioning as a binding domain for pronominals in Icelandic. Temporal and locative seem to be best able to form binding domains for pronominals. Comitative, causative and instrumental PPs are least suited to function as binding domains. It is unclear where directional PPs fit into this hierarchy, given that (33) received the highest acceptance rate of all the sentences tested but (34-35) were rejected.

Finally the effects of phonological weight were tested. As mentioned in section 2.2, the test sentences were in two groups of three. First were sentences with an intransitive verb and a complex preposition. These sentences have progressively heavier PPs containing pronominals.

	18. Heavy PP W/intransitive verb	Yes	?	No
51	Helga datt illa á rassinn	21%	29%	50%
[R24]	<i>Helga fell badly on bottom.DEF</i> [fyrir utan húsið hennar] <i>for outside house.DEF her</i> 'Helga fell badly onto her bottom outside her house'			
52	Siggi flaug á hausinn [fyrir framan rauða	14%	7%	79%
[R11]	<i>Siggi flew on head.DEF for front red</i> bílinn hans] <i>car.DEF his</i> 'Siggi fell on his head in front of his red car'			

	18. Heavy PP W/intransitive verb	Yes	?	No
53	Ella svaf [ofan í stóra fjólubláa [R56] <i>Ella slept from.above in big purple</i> Kassanum hennar <i>box.DEF her</i> 'Ella slept in her big purple box'	7%	0%	93%

Weight does not increase the acceptability of these sentences.

Second were sentences where the verbs were transitive and the prepositions simple. Again, these sentences have progressively heavier PPs containing locally bound pronominals.

	19. Heavy PP w/transitive verb	Yes	?	No
54	Ljósmyndarinn geymdi alltaf nokkrar [R2] <i>photographer.DEF stored always several</i> aukafilmur [í töskunni hans <i>extra.films in bag.DEF his</i> 'The photographer always kept a few extra rolls of film in his bag'	7%	14%	79%
55	Ásta borðaði oft hrökkbrauð og ost [R29] <i>Ásta ate often crisp.bread and cheese</i> [í löngu pásunum hennar <i>in long pauses.DEF her</i> 'Ásta often had crisp bread and cheese in her long breaks'	7%	36%	57%
56	Arnar kastaði bolta [í elskulega gamla [R17] <i>Arnar threw ball in loving old</i> hundinn hans <i>dog.DEF his</i> 'Arnar threw a ball at his old loving dog'	7%	14%	79%

It is interesting that the acceptance rate of the sentences shown in tables 18 and 19 should be so similar, when the results from the Faroe Islands and from the pilot study indicate that weight is fairly large factor in facilitating principle B violations. It is not clear why the heavy PPs in tables 18 and 19 did not receive a higher acceptance rate than they did. It is possible that the results are merely coincidental. The participants in the Icelandic part of the study might simply not be as susceptible to factors that facilitate principle B violations for some speakers, unlike the participants in the pilot study.

4. Summary and discussion

As mentioned above, the transitivity of verbs does not seem to be a factor in facilitating principle B violations in the current study, indicating that perhaps the

higher acceptance rate of sentences with transitive verbs in the pilot study was merely a coincidence.

This study confirms that the type of PP is a factor in facilitating principle B violations. Of the types tested, instrumental PPs were mostly rejected as a binding domain for pronominals. When it came to the other types, Faroese and Icelandic seem to differ regarding the pecking order of PP types. The Icelandic results do not point to any particular difference in the remaining types of PPs functioning as binding domains for pronominals. Instrumental PPs aside, the remaining types all received a similar rate of acceptance. The Faroese results however indicate the following hierarchy:

(57) Locative > comitative > temporal, directional, causative

Which is quite different from the one indicated by the pilot study:

(58) Causative > directional, locative, temporal > comitative

The one thing all the studies agree on is that instrumental PPs are ill-suited to function as binding domains for pronominals. However, as mentioned above, there is variation in Faroese regarding the preferred order of genitive possessors and the possessed noun, thus some of the sentences judged ungrammatical or questionable may have been judged so because of the order of the pronominal and the noun rather than due to Principle B effects. This variation might be the reason for the apparent hierarchy in (28), while the difference between these types of PPs may actually be quite minimal when it comes to them forming binding domains for pronominals. The apparent hierarchies in (28-29) might then just have been coincidental. To sum up this discussion, instrumental PPs are not able to function as binding domains for pronominals. The other types tested seem to be able to function as binding domains for pronominals, but it is unclear whether they differ in their ability to do so.

The results from the Faroese part of the study show that phonological heaviness does facilitate principle B violations. However the Icelandic results do not show any particular increase in acceptance depending on the increased heaviness of the PP, something that is in stark contrast to the results in the pilot study (see appendix I). However, as mentioned above, it is possible that the participants in the Icelandic part of this study were simply less susceptible to the effects of heaviness on binding than the participants in the pilot study.

In conclusion, the transitivity of verbs do not seem to be a factor in pronominals' ability to take a local subject antecedent. The typology of the PP is a factor, where instrumental PPs do not allow pronominals to be bound by a local subject whereas the other types tested do allow that. However, it is unclear at this point to what degree the remaining types differ in that regard. Finally the phonological heaviness of PPs can facilitate these apparent principle B violations, to a certain degree, in Faroese but not Icelandic.

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Appendix I. Icelandic Pilot study.

Part I

This part was in the form of a written questionnaire. There were 19 participants in this part of the study. The numbers represent the number of participants that accepted the sentences as grammatical. Coreference is indicated by boldface.

	Anti-subject orientation	Yes	?	No
[14]	Apinn ýtti fuglinum af greininni hans <i>monkey.DEF pushed bird.DEF off branch.DEF his</i> 'The monkey pushed the bird off its branch'	39%	5%	58%
[73]	Vilborg skutlaði Árna heim til hans <i>Vilborg harpooned Árni home to his</i> 'Vilborg gave Árni a lift to his house'	47%	5%	47%
[4]	Rósa setti barnið í stólinn hennar <i>Rósa put baby.DEF in chair.DEF her</i> 'Rósa put the baby in her chair'	26%	5%	68%
[29]	Hansína hrinti Stínu af hjólinu hennar <i>Hansína pushed Stína off bike.DEF her</i>	37%	0%	63%

Type of PP

	Directional PPs	Yes	?	No
[5]!	Sigurður fór inn til hans <i>Sigurður went in to his</i> 'Sigurður went into his room'	16%	0%	79%
[15]	Ágústa fór inn til mannsins hennar <i>Ágústa went in to man.DEF her</i> 'Ágústa went into her husband's room'	10%	10%	79%

	Locative PPs	Yes	?	No
[49]	Siggi hrinti Valla í húsinu hans <i>Siggi pushed Valli in house.DEF his</i> 'Siggi pushed Valli in his house'	21%	5%	74%
[61]!	Gunna er heima hjá henni <i>Gunna is home with her</i> 'Gunna is at her house'	5%	5%	84%
[69]	Siggi hoppar á rúminu hans <i>Siggi jumps on bed.DEF his</i> 'Siggi jumps on his bed'	10%	10%	79%

	Temporal PPs	Yes	?	No
[7]!	Arngrímur reykti í fríi hans <i>Arngrímur smoked in vacation his</i> 'Arngrímur smoked during his vacation'	10%	0%	84%

Temporal PPs		Yes	?	No
[39]	Gummi fór heim löngu á undan pabba hans <i>Gummi went home long on before father his</i> 'Gummi went home long before his father did'	16%	5%	79%
[55]	Skólastýran kom á eftir ritara hennar <i>Headmistress.DEF came on after secretary her</i> 'The headmistress arrived after her secretary'	5%	16%	79%
Instrumental PPs		Yes	?	No
[22]	Lára saga þetta með vélsöginni hennar <i>Lára saws this with chainsaw.DEF her</i> 'Lára will saw it with her chainsaw'	0%	0%	100%
[47]	Henry negldi þetta með hamrinum hans <i>Henry nailed this with hammer.DEF his</i> 'Henry nailed it with his hammer'	5%	10%	84%
[77]	Henry kom á bílnum hans <i>Henry came on car.DEF his</i> 'Henry came by car'	5%	16%	79%
Causative PPs		Yes	?	No
[27]	Heiða gerði vel sökum dugnaðar hennar <i>Heiða did well because dilligence her</i> 'Heiða did well because of her dilligence'	16%	21%	63%
[64]	Helga öskrar sökum óláns hennar <i>Helga screams because bad.luck her</i> 'Helga screams because of her bad luck'	37%	10%	53%
[75]	Maðurinn sigraði keppnina vegna kænsku hans <i>Man.DEF won competition.DEF because cunning his</i> 'The man won the competition because of his cunning'	16%	5%	79%
Weight of PPs		Yes	?	Nei
[9]	Maðurinn óttast hundinn á hæðinni á móti ofanum hans <i>Man.DEF fears dog.DEF on hill.DEF on against hut.DEF his</i> 'The man fears the dog on the hill in front of his hut'	26%	10%	63%
[20]	Sigga grét í þriðju og seinustu opinberu heimsókn hennar til Þórshafnar <i>Sigga cried in third and last official visit her to Tórshavn</i> 'Sigga cried on her third and last official visit to Tórshavn'	32%	0%	68%
[31]	Haraldur braut illa báðar hnéskeljar í fríinu hans <i>Haraldur broke badly both kneecaps in vacation.DEF his</i> 'Haraldur broke both kneecaps badly in his vacation'	0%	5%	95%

	Weight of PPs	Yes	?	Nei
[66]	Stelpurnar snjóaði inni í fimmtu og erfiðustu <i>Girls.DEF snowed in in fifth and most.difficult</i> heimsókn þeirra til Súðavíkur <i>visit their to Súðavík</i> ‘The girls were snowed in on their fifth and most difficult visit to Súðavík’	79%	0%	21%

Part 2

This part was verbal. The test sentences were read aloud and the participants gave their judgements verbally. There were 6 participants. The numbers represent the number of responses in each cell. Coreference is indicated by boldface.

	Anti-subject orientation	Yes	?	No
[V4]	Gulli keyrði Rósu heim til hennar <i>Gulli drove Rósa home to her</i> ‘Gulli drove Rósa home’	5	0	1
[V9]	Kennarinn spurði nemandann um einkunnina hans <i>Teacher.DEF asked student.DEF about grade.DEF his</i> ‘The teacher asked the student about his grade’	6	0	0
[V14]	Gulli keyrði Rósu heim til hans <i>Gulli drove Rósa home to his</i> ‘Gulli drove Rósa home’	2	2	2
[V8]	Rósa lagði barnið í sófann hennar <i>Rósa laid child.DEF in sofa.DEF her</i> ‘Rósa laid the child in her sofa’	3	1	2
[V6]	Nemandinn spurði kennarann um einkunnina hans <i>Student.DEF asked teacher.DEF about grade.DEF his</i> ‘The student asked the teacher about his grade’	2	0	4

Type of PPs:

	Comitative	Yes	?	No
[V1]	Stella kom ásamt foreldrum hennar <i>Stella came along.with parents her</i> ‘Stella came along with her parents’	3	0	3
[V11]	Stella kom með foreldrum hennar <i>Stella came with her parents</i> ‘Stella came with her parents’	0	1	5

Heaviness:

	Heavy PPs	Yes	?	No
[V10]	Gunna toгнаði illa á báðum ökkum í frínu hennar <i>Gunna sprained badly on both ankles in vacation.DEF her</i> 'Gunna sprained both ankles badly on her vacation'	1	0	5
[V18]	Gunna toгнаði illa á báðum ökkum <i>Gunna sprained badly on both ankles</i> í frínu hennar seinasta sumar <i>in vacation.DEF her last summer</i> 'Gunna sprained both ankles badly on her vacation last summer'	2	2	2
[V16]	Drottningunni var vel fagnað í fyrstu <i>Queen.DEF was well cheered in first</i> heimsókn hennar til Ísafjarðar <i>visit her to Ísafjörður</i> 'The Queen was well recieved during her first visit to Ísafjörður'	4	1	1
[V12]	Drottningunni var vel fagnað í fyrstu heimsókn hennar <i>Queen.DEF was well cheered in first visit her</i> 'The Queen was well recieved during her first visit'	4	1	1
[V17]	Forsetinn datt í það í fyrstu opinberu heimsókn hans <i>President.DEF fell in it in first official visit his</i> 'The President got drunk on his first official visit'	3	1	2
[V3]	Forsetinn datt í það í fyrstu opinberu <i>President.DEF fell in it in first official</i> heimsókn hans til Súðavíkur <i>visit his to Súðavík</i> 'The President got drunk on his first official visit'	5	0	1
[V7]	Forsetahjónunum var vel fagnað í heimsókn þeirra <i>Presidential.couple.DEF was well cheered in visit their</i> 'The presidential couple were well received during their visit'	4	1	1
[V15]	Forsetahjónunum var vel fagnað <i>Presidential.couple.DEF was well cheered</i> í fyrstu opinberu heimsókn þeirra <i>in first official visit their</i> 'The presidential couple were well received during their visit'	4	1	1

Appendix II - The Faroese questionnaire

Kanning

Luttakaranummar: _____

Dagur: _____

Staður: _____

Set kross við hóskandi svar, sum verður víst niðanfyri:

ja = **Natúrligur** setningur. Soleiðis hevði eg væl kunnað sagt.

? = **Ivasamur** setningur. Soleiðis kundi eg neyvan sagt.

nei = **Ónatúrligur** ella ómøguligur setningur. Soleiðis kundi eg ikki sagt.

Sum víst omanfyri, skalt tú leggja dent á tað, ið tú heldur, at **tú kundi sagt**. Tú kanst skriva stutta viðmerking ella greiða frá í teiginum "Viðmerkingar", um tú heldur tað vera neyðugt (t.d. um tú heldur setningin vera natúrligan, men eitthvørt orð kemur fyri í honum, sum tú vanliga ikki nýtir í dagligari talu — ella um tú heldur, at setningurin líkist meiri skriftmáli enn talumáli).

Nr.	Setningur	Já	?	Nei	Viðmerking
D1	Teldan riggar ikki.	x			
D2	Teldan ikki riggar.			x	

Eins og tú sært á dømunum omanfyri er ofta lítil munur á setningunum, tískil **eigur tú at lesa teir gjølla** fyri at kunna meta teir. Minst til, at henda kanning ikki er ein próvtøka, men snýr seg um, hvat tú heldur.

		Já	?	Nei	Viðmerking
1	<i>Kettan royndi at fanga fuglin tá ið han svav men fuglurin sá hana.</i> Fuglurin fleyg úr reiðri hansara [hansara = fuglurin]				
2	<i>Jógvan er sera troyttur.</i> Eyguni í honum eru reyð				

		Já	?	Nei	Viðmerking
3	<i>Zakaris kom ekki einsamallur í gjár.</i> Zakaris kom við abba hansara [hansara = Zakaris]				
4	<i>Maðurin fór út at ganga við hundi sínum. Tá ið hann fór heim rann hann.</i> Hundurinn rann aftan á eigara hansara [hansara = hundurinn]				
5	<i>Sjúrdur segði at vinur hansara skuldi ongantíð ferðast uttan hann.</i> Tó fór hann ekki við vini sínum til Íslands				
6	<i>Gentan fór til Onglands og legði alt eftir.</i> Gentan fór frá øllum lodnu kettum hennara [hennara = gentan]				
7	<i>Jógvan fór á vertshús í gjár.</i> Hann drakk tríggar øl				
8	Drongurinn varð harðligur við skóm hansara [hansara = drongurinn]				
9	<i>Eg royndi vitja teg men eg kunni ekki.</i> Meg vantaði ein bil				
10	<i>Flestir var ekki við góðan knív men allir høvdu breyð.</i> Kvinnan skar breyðið við knívið hennara [hennara = kvinnan]				
11	<i>Kvinnan hjá Jógvani breyt nýggju telduna.</i> Jógvan rópti á kvinnu hansara [hansara = Jógvan]				
12	<i>Yvir seks milliónir fólk hava hugt eftir einum filmbroti av einum hundi sum bráðliga vaknar úr svøvni og rennur inn í ein vegg.</i> Filmbrotið av hundinum hevur veruliga vakt ans millum fólk.				
13	<i>Sjúrdur misti knív á tasku sína.</i> Sjúrdur fekk hol á nógvar av gomlu skjúrtum hansara [hansara = Sjúrdur]				
14	<i>Vestmannaoyggjarnar eru heimsins størsta lundaland men tey seinastu árin er lundin nógv minkaður.</i> Í Íslandi sigur Náttúrustovan at veiðan er ekki burðardygg longur.				

		Já	?	Nei	Viðmerking
15	<i>Gentan át ikki einsamøll í gjár.</i> Gentan át fisk við pápa hennara [hennara = gentan]				
16	<i>Jógvan arbeiðir fyri einum føroyskum fólkaskúla sum setur dygdarundirvísing í háseti.</i> Hann vil byggja eitt gott skúlaumhvørvi har børnini trívast.				
17	<i>Maðurin koyrir ikki.</i> Maðurin ferðast á hestið hansara [hansara = maðurin]				
18	<i>Jógvan hevur lagt fram uppskot um at stovna miðlaráð.</i> Miðlaráðið hevur til endamáls at kunna og leiðbeina fólk um filmar og telduspøl.				
19	<i>Eyguni hjá næmingunum vóru so ring hann næstan ikki sá longur men nú hevur han fingið brillur.</i> Næmingurin kann lesa bókina við brillum hansara [hansara = Næmingurin]				
20	<i>Malan kom sera seint heim í gjár.</i> Malan kom heim aftaná maður hennara [hennara = Malan]				
21	<i>Sjúrdur bleiv skaddur og Marjun koyrði hann heim av sjúkrahúsinum</i> Marjun leiddi Sjúrd til bil hennara [hennara = Marjun]				
22	<i>Tað manglar at mála húsið.</i> Tað vóna eg, at onkur fari at gjøra hetta				
23	<i>Ongin hevði tíð til at eta í morgun.</i> Turið át tvíflís í bilið hennara [hennara = Turið]				
24	<i>Malan sígur ongantíð satt.</i> Hon varð samt altíð trúð				
25	<i>Gentan vann hóast hon ikki var sterkast ella skjótast.</i> Gentan vann vegna gløggsemi hennara [hennara = gentan]				

		Já	?	Nei	Viðmerking
26	<i>Jógvan er dugnaligur handverkari ið ger gott rør- og betongarbeiði.</i> Hann dugir at gera alt líka frá smáarbeiði í sethúsum til stórt nýbyggjari.				
27	Niklas hoppaði á nýggju trampolin hansara [hansara = Niklas]				
28	<i>Sólfríð er ein virkin kvinna sum altíð hevur nógv jørn í eldinum.</i> Hon hevur verið politikari, lærari og ambulansufólk.				
29	<i>Maðurin vildi vera heima hjá sær sjálvum og ikki fara aftur.</i> Maðurin keddi seg í teimum flestu longu keðiligu arbeiðsferðum hansara til Keypmannahavnar [hansara = maðurin]				
30	<i>Fyri tveimum árum síðani fóru Malan og Gunnar tíggju ferðir til Keypmannahavnar.</i> Hetta er nógv oftara enn tey vóru í fjør.				
31	<i>Eivind stoppaði at roykja síðsta ár men hann sníkir seg onkuntíð.</i> Eivind roykti cigar í feriu hansara [hansara = Eivind]				
32	<i>Ein drongur sat heima og hugdi eftir sjónvarpi tá ið systkinabarn hansara vitjaði hann og vildi hava stól hansara.</i> Drongurin varð koyrdur úr stóli hansara [hansara = drongurin]				
33	<i>Í føroyskum sagnum verða huldufólk ofta lýst sum skapningar sum duga meira enn at mata seg.</i> Í dag verður ofta sagt at trøll og huldufólk hvurvu við elektrisiteti og gøtuljósum.				
34	<i>Marjun segði at vinur hennara skuldi ongantíð ferðast uttan hana.</i> Tó, hon fór ikki við vini sínum til Íslands				
35	<i>Læknin segði at Jógvan ikki skuldi ferðast so mikið.</i> Jógvan viknaði í longu ferðum hansara [hansara = Jógvan]				
36	<i>Marjun fekk sand í andlitið</i> Eyguni hjá henni eru reyð				

		Já	?	Nei	Viðmerking
37	<i>Hjúnin skeldaðust tá ið tey fóru at sova.</i> Kvinnan koyrði mannin úr song hennara [hennara = kvinnan]				
38	<i>Hvølpánir vóru so lívligir og spældu nógv í kurvini tá ið mamma teirra svav.</i> Tíkin varð skumpað úr kurv hennara [hennara = tíkin]				
39	<i>Turið hevði ikki sæð bróður sín í mong ár tá ið hon vitjaði hann í gjár.</i> Gurið fegnast um ta hjartaligu móttøkuna				
40	Gamla kvinnan hevur sæð mangt á øllum ferðum hennara runt um í heiminum [hennara = gamla kvinnan]				
41	<i>Lærarin var sera keddur av at Jógvan ikki visti svarið.</i> Hann las bókina ikki				
42	<i>Maðurin toldi ikki tá ið tíkin svav uppi á borðinum.</i> Maðurin skumpaði tíkina av borði hansara [hansara = maðurin]				
43	<i>Jógvan sigldi við báti fyri at hyggja at Vestmannabjörgunum.</i> Hann sigldi inn í nøkur helli og fekk tikið nógvar myndir.				
44	<i>Sjúrður var so upptekin at hann ikki kom út at eta</i> Sjúrður át á skrivstovu hansara [hansara = Sjúrður]				
45	<i>Tað var í 2001 at Jógvan úr Klaksvík vann allar róðrarnar uttan ein róður.</i> Hann vann eisini FM-heitið á Ólavsøku.				

Appendix III - The Icelandic Questionnaire

Númer: _____

Dagur: _____

Fæðingarár: _____

Nafn: _____

Til þátttakenda:

Íslenskt mál er margbreytilegra en margir gera sér grein fyrir. Fólk talar öðruvísi eftir landshlutum og aldri o.s.frv. Oft eru fleiri en einn kostur sem kemur til greina í málnotkun. Til að mynda geta flestir sagt bæði *hún setti allt dótið **niður*** og *hún setti **niður** allt dótið*. Þó stundum komi aðeins einn kostur til greina.

Markmið þessarar könnunar er að skoða ýmis tilbrigði í setningargerð og hversu algeng þau eru. Þess vegna er mikilvægt að hafa í huga að **EKKI** er verið að athuga hvað þátttakendur telja vera **rétt/gott** eða **rangt/vont mál** eða hvað þeim hefur verið kennt, heldur hvað þeir **segja í daglegu tali** eða gætu sagt. Þar með er fyrst og fremst miðað við talmál. Ef þátttakanda þykir setning eiga heldur heima í ritmáli en í talmáli getur hann tekið það fram í athugasemdadálki í könnuninni en **dómarnir skulu miðast við talmál**.

Nöfn þátttakenda verða hvergi birt heldur eru þau einungis svo hægt væri hugsanlega að hafa samband við þátttakanda síðar ef þess gerist þörf.

Í spurningarlistanum eru gefnir þrír kostir: **Já** (svona gæti ég sagt), **?** (svona myndi ég varla segja) og **Nei** (svona gæti ég ekki sagt).

		Já	?	Nei	Athugasemdir
1	<i>Við ættum að taka auka birðgðir með okkur. Það er alltaf einhver sem gleymir að taka eitthvað með sér.</i>				
2	<i>Sama hvað teknar voru margar myndir hann hélt alltaf áfram.</i> Ljósmyndarinn geymdi alltaf nokkrar aukafilmur í töskunni hans [hann = ljósmyndarinn]				

		Já	?	Nei	Athugasemdir
3	Ég er búinn að hringja marg oft á skrifstofuna og skilja eftir skilaboð en enginn hringt til baka. Ég held að ritarinn hjá þeim sé ekki með öllum mjalla				
4	Ég skil ekki alveg. Um hvað ertu eiginlega að tala um?				
5	Ég keypti þessa tölvu í fyrra. Ég nota hana bara aldrei				
6	Þetta samfélag er á algjörri niðurleið. Það var lamið litla strákin í skólanum í gær				
7	Gunna fékk nóg af því að Tumi var alltaf að taka stólinn hennar. Gunna hrinti Tuma úr stólnum hennar [hún = Gunna]				
8	Gvendur hefur talað um þessa Noregsferð sína mánuðum saman, en hann er gjarn á að hætta við á seinustu stundu. Strákurinn heldur að Gvendur ekki fari til Noregs á morgun eftir allt				
9	Þú trúir ekki hvað María sagði mér í gær! María heldur að þú elskir sig				
10	Það heyrðust óp úr herbergi krakkanna. Strákurinn fann mús í skúffunni hans [hann = strákurinn]				
11	Siggi var að sópa snjónum af bílunum sínum í morgun. Siggi flaug á hausinn fyrir framan rauða bílinn hans [hann = Siggi]				
12	Ertu viss um að við höfum ekki sést áður. Voðalega kannast mig við þig				
13	Þeir eru alltaf eitthvað að bauka krakkarnir. Dóri smíðaði kofa með bróður hans [hann = Dóri]				
14	Taktu ekki mark á Hallgrími Hann er bara að vera kjánalegur				
15	Þessar Twilight bækur virðast vera býsna vinsælar. Það hafa víst margir lesið þetta allt saman				

		Já	?	Nei	Athugasemdir
16	Jújú, Karl verslaði eitthvað smá smá. Karl keypti sér skyrtu í fríinu hans [hann = Karl]				
17	Systkynin Arnar og Klara hafa alltaf þótt einstaklega illkvittin. Arnar kastaði bolta í elskulega gamla hundinn hans [hann = Arnar]				
18	Það var tiltektardagur á heimilinu og ýmsir hlutir sem ekki höfðu sést lengi komu í ljós. Ágúst fann blað undir rúminu hans [hann = Ágúst]				
19	Ársskýrslan var talin vera áfellisdomur yfir stjórninni. Þess vegna var skammað forstjóran á aðalfundinum				
20	Hún Hrefna er svo mikið rassgat. Hún er alveg eins og pabbi sinn				
21	Það ná þessu ekki allir. Ég veit að Siggi nær þessu samt				
22	Stína og Gummi eiga mörg gæludýr og eru rosa dugleg að fara með þau á alls konar sýningar og keppnir. Hundurinn vann verðlaun út af feldinum hans [hann = hundurinn]				
23	Hann reynir og reynir en hann fellur samt. Hann er svo ekki að skilja þetta				
24	Það er alveg flughált úti þessa daganna. Helga datt illa á rassinn fyrir utan húsið hennar [hún = Helga]				
25	Lára hafði rosalega gaman af söng en þorði sjaldan að syngja innan um annað fólk. Það var í sturtunni sem að hún hafði alltaf sungið mest				
26	Það er sorglegt hvernig fór að lokum fyrir þessu fólki. Stefán missti allt út af fíkninni hans [hann = Stefán]				

		Já	?	Nei	Athugasemdir
27	<i>Fólk var svo samheldið í gamla daga og var alltaf að gera eitthvað saman.</i> Það var til dæmis alltaf bakað kökur á sunnudögum				
28	<i>Krakkarnir fóru í bústað með lambalæri og alls konar fínerí en í bústaðnum voru engir hnífar.</i> Gummi skar lærið með vasahnífnum hans [hann = Gummi]				
29	<i>Ásta er bæði vanaföst og matgrönn.</i> Ásta borðaði oft hrökkbrauð og ost í löngu pásunum hennar [hún = Ásta]				
30	<i>Guðný er að leita að afmælisgjöf handa Gunnari</i> Hún heldur að honum vanti annan síma				
31	<i>Siggi frekja kom í heimsókn til Gumma og tróð sér í fullann sófann.</i> Gumma var ýtt úr sófanum hans [hann = Gummi]				
32	<i>Það reyktu nú ekki allir sígarettur í gamla daga.</i> Pála reykti vindla á unglingsárum hennar [hún = Pála]				
33	<i>Ég skil ekki alveg af hverju þið eruð að kvarta.</i> Mér fannst ræðan hjá formanninum mjög góð				
34	<i>Þetta var voða mikil óhappavika seinasta vika.</i> Stelpan slasaðist á afmælisdaginn hennar [hún = stelpan]				
35	<i>Þessi blankheit þín eru nú ekkert einsdæmi.</i> Peningar eru þurftir af mörgum				
36	<i>Það var svo mikið að gera að enginn hafði tíma til að setjast niður og borða.</i> Steina borðaði í bílnum hennar [hún = Steina]				
37	<i>Var Steini eitthvað að tala við þig</i> Hverju sagði hann þér frá?				

		Já	?	Nei	Athugasemdir
38	<i>Dóra fékk alveg ógeð á bíldrúslunni þegar hún bilaði enn einu sinni.</i> Dóra henti steinum í bílinn hennar [hún = Dóra]				
39	<i>Sirry varð vör við dularfullar mannaferðir kringum húsið á móti og hringdi í lögregluna.</i> Þjóf fann lögreglan í húsinu				
40	<i>Póstbíllinn bilaði en þau voru bara hálfnuð með útburðinn.</i> Sigrún keyrði út pakkana á bílnum hennar [hún = Sigrún]				
41	<i>Fjölskyldubíllinn var orðinn ógurlega óhreinn eftir ferðalagið.</i> Stella þreif bílinn ásamt kærastanum hennar [hún = Stella]				
42	<i>Halli krækti í risastóran fisk í gær.</i> Veiðistöngin brotnaði hjá honum				
43	<i>Elli hefur alltaf tekið strætó.</i> Hann kann ekki einu sinni að keyra				
44	<i>Það var skemmtiatriði í veislunni.</i> Stelpan spilaði mjög vel á sögina hennar [hún = stelpan]				
45	<i>Gætirðu hugsanlega tekið vaktina mína annað kvöld.</i> Okkur þorvaldi langar á þorrablót				
46	<i>Þær vita miklu meira um þetta núna.</i> Í fyrra höfðu auðvitað stelpurnar aldrei lesið þessa bók				
47	<i>Lögreglan bankaði upp á til að leita að Kára og Stínu.</i> Stelpan var falin í skápnum hennar [hún = stelpan]				
48	<i>Inga var komin hálfa leið heim þegar hún áttaði sig á að hún hafði gleymt einhverju.</i> Peysan Ingu varð eftir á kaffihúsinu				
49	<i>Þau hjálpast voðalega mikið við að reka heimilið og skiptast á.</i> Kári eldaði súpu ásamt mömmu hans [hann = Kári]				

		Já	?	Nei	Athugasemdir
50	<i>Kalli hefur aldrei verið mikið jólabarn.</i> En Gunnari bróður hans hlakkar samt alltaf mikið til jólanna				
51	<i>Konan bað manninn um að geyma veskið sitt.</i> Maðurinn setti veskið í töskuna hans [hann = maðurinn]				
52	<i>Stínu fannst yfirleitt svo gaman í skólanum en núna er hún komin með leið á skólanum.</i> Henni leiddist meira að segja smíðatímarnir				
53	<i>Undarleg hljóð heyrðust utan frá og Katrín fór og leit út um gluggann.</i> Katrín sá ketti í garðinum hennar [hún = Katrín]				
54	<i>Það Þýðir ekkert að spyrja mig út í neitt svoléiðis.</i> Ég sef alltaf fast og dreymi aldrei neitt				
55	<i>Allir voru dauðþreyttir eftir langan vinnudag.</i> Halli sofnaði í stólnum hans [hann = Hansína]				
56	<i>Margir voru mjög móðgaðir yfir þessum veggspjöldum.</i> Þess vegna var alltaf verið að rífa þetta niður í skjóli nætur				
57	<i>Ella var búin að sturta úr öllum dótakössunum sínum og lék sér ofan í þeim.</i> Ella svaf ofan í stóra fjóluþláa kassanum hennar [hún = Ella]				
58	<i>Þú munt ekki trúa því hver kveikti í fatahenginu.</i> Það var fullkomni nemandinn í þessum bekk				
59	<i>Við sátum og spjölluðum áður en við fórum í bæinn.</i> Svo var fengið sér öl og haft gaman				
60	<i>Það er ekki alltaf fljótasti eða sterkasti leikmaðurinn sem vinnur.</i> Hansína vann Grím vegna kænsku hennar [hún = Grímur]				